The Commonweal

May 6, 1949

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Chicago: Divided City

James O'Gara

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Conflict in Poland

Alexander Janta

VOLUME L 15c NUMBER 4

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Next Week—

Spring Book Number

JAPANESE ELECTION, by Lafe Franklin Allen. With the Chinese Communists again on the march and Nationalist defenses crumbling, what is the political situation in nearby Japan, which the Americans still occupy? An analysis of the recent election by a Washington correspondent who is a veteran of the war in the Pacific assays the present strength of the various conservative, democratic and reactionary political forces in Nippon. The big gains registered by the conservatives and the Communists and what that means for the future.

SIGNS OF A RENAISSANCE, by John A. V. Burke, uses the films, "Monsieur Vincent," which has made such a success in this country, and "Dr. Laennec," which has yet to reach these shores, to illustrate his confidence in a growing artistic excellence. And finally, Father Burke tells of a forthcoming production, "The Divine Tragedy," which will in its portrayal of the life of Christ embody a similar if not a heightened degree of artistry.

Also in next week's issue John C. Cort on the Labor Movement, special book articles and feature reviews dealing with leading books of the season, and comment on the latest productions of stage and screen.

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The
COMMONWEAL

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Final Test in Europe

ON APRIL 25th news and rumors from Germany came together into a new pattern—a new pattern to work on. Only one-half of the news roused General Robertson, the English Military Governor, to observe that it was "a rather big day in the development of relations between the Germans and the occupation powers." The other half of the news was furnished by Tass, the Soviet news agency.

As reported, the facts fit unusually well a rather romantic picture of high power diplomatic operations. It seems that the reply of J. V. Stalin (Stalin) to Kingsbury Smith's quite informal, journalistic, interview-questionnaire, interested the US State Department. So, on February 15, when the United Nations people were gathering together on Long Island, our representative, Mr. Jessup, ran into Mr. J. A. Malik, the U.S.S.R. representative, the way people run into each other; and Mr. Jessup took the opportunity to say how much he'd like to know how in the world it happened that in the third paragraph of Stalin's reply to Kingsbury Smith on the Berlin problem, "where mention is made of the lifting of the restrictions, nothing is said with regard to a single currency for Berlin. J. A. Malik told Mr. Jessup in this connection that the absence in the reply to Mr. Kingsbury Smith of mention concerning the currency was not accidental. . . ." So, naturally, the rumors began to fly.

After the proper warm-up period, Tass now describes the Russian position in the following two propositions:

1. A Big Four Foreign Ministers' council—composed of Russia, the United States, Britain and France—should meet to discuss a single currency for Berlin, "together with other questions bearing on Germany."
2. If a date can be agreed on for such a meeting, "reciprocal restrictions on communications and trade could be lifted" before the meeting.

It appeared to be a prettily conceived dovetail: While an appointment for a Big Four meeting would come first (as the Russians had insisted the meeting should come first), the actual meeting would not take place until the blockade should be lifted (in accordance with Western demands). A not inelegant diplomatic move may have solved the artistic problem.

Supposing the appointment were made, the blockade lifted, and the Big Four met, then what would be the agenda?

The issue is the West German State, and behind that, the direction which all Germany shall take when a German state is reconstituted and begins to exercise again its certain centripetal force over all parts and people of Germany, and when it begins to develop again the principal social-economic force of Europe. This remains the principal issue of World War II.

At the end of the day of April 25th, which the British Governor noted as being "a rather big day," the American Governor, General Clay, announced: "All differences between the occupation powers and the Germans and among the Germans themselves have been resolved, and a constitution is expected to be approved by the Parliamentary Council by May 15." General Clay, the most important man on the spot, considered that the West German State had been born. Dr. Konrad Adenauer, president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Germans of the three allied zones, and the eminent leader of the Christian Democrats, said: "Nothing now stands in the way which would prevent approval of the constitution. This is a decision made by the Germans for the German people. Everyone had to make a sacrifice in the interests of Germany and of Europe." One of the German Socialist delegates said, according to the *Times*, the flattest (and most "realistic"?) words: "We are founding an anti-Communist state which with its industrial resources can contribute greatly to the future of Europe."

It appears impossible for the Russians to accept such a state. What would the Big Four

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ministers talk about if they met? And what can the Soviets do about it? Historians say that over the centuries Russia pushes as hard as she can westward, conceiving that to be the most important move for her imperial destiny. When checked, the Russians recoil and push out eastward, to return toward central Europe and the Baltic and Mediterranean again when another possibility opens. Perhaps the communist complication is not altering that supposed rhythm of Russian history. Perhaps the Politburo know they are stopped on the West. Only a recognition of defeat, which they could not overcome by their armies and their world-wide subversive parties and all their powers of propaganda, will force Russia to permit a Germany to grow up which is out of her control. The German state is the ultimate test and issue on the West.

Crossing the Yangtze

AS THE CHINESE Communist armies slowly fan out across the Yangtze, they move forward on foot, but virtually at will, into the military vacuum resulting from the Nationalist collapse. The wooden fences and pill boxes of mud and brick at Shanghai, for instance, constitute obviously only a paper defense. In South China a second round of runaway inflation has further battered the remnants of Nationalist morale. Perhaps in the end only the island of Formosa can be successfully defended by the Nationalists.

The first item on *Pravda's* timetable is conquest of all China in the startling interval of from six months to a year. To the 180,000,000 under the Communist yoke in Manchuria and North China, it seems possible that the bulk of the remaining 270,000,000 in South China (and vast resources) is gradually to be added. But it is the other two items on the *Pravda* program which seem really doubtful of realization. The first is a three-to-five-year plan of Chinese reconstruction to repair the ravages of more than twenty years of war and occupation. The second is the communizing of China and such extensive industrialization that manufactures will account for forty percent of the national income.

Reports from Nanking contrast the orderly behavior of the occupying Communist troops with that of the conquering Japanese. And apparently the new victors also take seriously the responsibility for supplying food in the cities they take over. But the gap between an orderly assumption of military control of a primitive sort and bringing order out of China's chronic chaos is tremendous. That is the Communists' job.

Perforce the United States has little choice but unhappily to observe all this from without. And coinciding as it does with a modicum of anti-Communist success in Europe, it may herald a shift of Russian focus toward the East (where any conceivable armed conflict with former allies would be comfortably remote from Moscow and the Kremlin). If events should move as rapidly in this direction as now appears possible, then the world would come perceptibly closer to being divided in two, "and never the twain shall meet." Such a horrendous possibility underlines the new concern the United States must assume for other areas in the Far East.

There is the task of enabling Japan to make a go of things, of taking economic measures to assure the Philippines and the myriad islands of the Pacific a stable livelihood, of prevailing on the French and Dutch and British conscientiously to bring their colonial peoples to full self-rule in such a way that they, too, may develop going native economies. The last illusions about holding on in China in any major way are shattered and the rest of the Far East hangs in the balance.

Cultivating the Stockholder

WITH WOMEN just disclosed to be owners of 70 per cent of the private wealth of the country and boasting a new shareholders federation of their own, the American stockholder as such appears to be progressing toward a new, well-publicized rôle. Annual reports no longer confine themselves to totting up the profits; but handsome photographs of new plants and new products often combine with statements of company policy to add up (with the happy surplus figures) into a very neat prospectus. Beyond this the daily press now detects a new approach to annual corporation meetings. Ordinarily management expects no issues of any moment to arise and can count on sufficient votes to put things through, but invitations to stockholders to attend are increasingly pressing.

General Electric broke all records for annual corporation meetings recently by attracting 1,500 shareholders from 40 states and proceeded to impress the gathering by showing them round the Schenectady premises. Once the men and women who have provided the capital are on hand now, management undertakes to answer all their questions even if it it prolongs the meeting for hours.

So far this has not prevented officers being elected, accountants designated, and all other "necessary business" from being transacted as always exactly as management had planned it. But it is a healthy development. It makes absentee ownership a whit less absent, gets people interested in the policies of a corporation to which they have entrusted some funds and even makes the companies themselves more consciously accountable for operations which have important social consequences—in short the best sort of public relations. When the day comes that, in numbers and proportion of shares, employees comprise an important segment of the stock-

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holders present at annual meetings, American business will be much more solidly based.

National Health

IT SEEMS only proper that President Truman, devoted as he is to early morning "constitutionals," should have some ideas about keeping the rest of the country in the pink, too. When he gave his ideas on the Fair Deal national health program to Congress, it was discovered that indeed Mr. Truman had a fatherly concern for the health of his countrymen that took in just about everybody. What he proposes, fair or not, is at least a big deal.

The Truman program calls for compulsory health insurance, covering everyone in the social security system and his dependents. Money for the program would come from an additional payroll tax of 1½ per cent, levied on both employer and employee. For this, the insured would receive complete medical, surgical, dental and hospital care; patients could choose their doctors and doctors would be free to participate in the plan or not, and to accept or reject any patients.

At about the same time, two other bills on the national health went before Congress, one a Taft Republican measure, the other a bi-partisan bill. Both of these measures steered clear of compulsory insurance and advocated instead a decentralized program of federal aid for the states to expand hospital facilities, to care for those not able to pay medical bills, and to increase the enrollment in voluntary medical insurance plans, such as Blue Cross, which already entitle 55,000,000 Americans to varying degrees of health care.

On one point, all these plans agree: the benefits of medical science must be extended to more people, particularly to the underprivileged. Simply stated, the objective is better national health. But the real question is, how to get it—through federal compulsion or through federal aid to state and voluntary programs?

This whole question of national health is much more than a medical matter. The compulsory federal program is, to most minds, "socialized medicine." By this term, the American Medical Association is scared to death for professional reasons; by the same term, other Americans are scared to death at the spectre of dictatorial state-control of their lives. For both reasons, the question of national health is dominated by the socio-political fear of a centralized, potentially totalitarian state in this country.

As his prescription for national health, Mr. Truman administers the standard formula of the emerging Fair Deal: that is, a formula of increasing federal statism. His program allows doctors and patients enough freedom to evade the epithet of strictly "socialized medicine." But there is no evidence to prove that the trend toward federal control will stop short of total socialism: instead, all the evidence of modern history demonstrates that the evolution gradually builds up in the center into what becomes, in one form or another, the totalitarian state.

In this case, Mr. Truman asks us to resort to federal compulsion and statism before the techniques of voluntary health insurance, and of medical assistance to the states, admittedly insufficient now, have been pushed to their full possibilities in this country. Advocates of voluntary health programs have the merit of believing in our political tradition—which is that although the federal government can legitimately assist the states, it should not compel them or constrict private initiative until local measures have broken down. Transferring problems, like a load, to the federal government is an illusory and expensive form of escapism.

There is now hardly a sufficient warrant to fly to the protective arms of the federal government before voluntary health insurance plans have been given a fair and full trial. If personal initiative and local, responsible gumption are so dead in this country that we must have a nurse, in the form of a federal protectress, to restore our vitality on every issue, then and then only is Mr. Truman's Fair Deal the vision of our lock-step, austere future.

U.S.S. United States

THE ANGRY resignation of John L. Sullivan from his high post as Secretary of the Navy creates difficulties for members of a docile public. The war business has been presented by its professionals, and accepted by its civilian supporters, as a mysterious science and art. We have a large suspicion that this attitude is lazy and irresponsible. War is a crude occupation, and its science and art are not, in fact, terribly special and esoteric. The main "mystery" about armies and navies and air forces is simply the result of secrecy, necessary and unnecessary, and not the result of complexity. And war is increasingly not only "military," but political, social, economic and spiritual.

Now, the unification of American defense forces has been decided legitimately; and an admiral or general is little better qualified than a comparably educated and equally capable civilian to argue that basic policy. In a unified force, the building of aircraft carriers and things like that are, from time to time, going to be called off. It appears a good sign that a definite, public action has been taken showing that unification is being born. We have no way to judge the obstetrical methods employed, but the best cannot eliminate all pain. Our civilian friends do know, moreover, as well as Admirals King, Nimitz and Kincaid, that $188,000,000 is *money*.

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Divided City

Chicago holds the old line on segregation and slum clearance

James O'Gara

ON THE South side of Chicago there is a long, irregularly shaped strip of land, about a mile and a half wide by seven or eight miles long. On this strip of land is located what Horace R. Cayton and St. Clair Drake, in their "Black Metropolis," term a Negro city-within-a-city. To help make up a Negro population which numbers approximately 350,000 and which makes Chicago rank as the second largest Negro city in the world (led only by the New York's Harlem), there are small Negro settlements on the near North and West sides of the city. But by far the largest percentage of Chicago's Negroes live on this pointing finger of land on the South side.

In the early morning hours there is a vast pilgrimage out of the Black ghetto, and during the day one does see Negro men in other sections of the city, working as car washers in garages, as coal heavers in white residential neighborhoods, or as porters in barber shops and drug stores. There are also Negro mailmen in some white neighborhoods, and of late years there have been Negroes on the streetcar system. Many Negro women make the trek every day to the homes of white employers, carrying the ever-present shopping bag as their badge of domestic service to white supremacy. In the evening, the direction of this pilgrimage is reversed. Then one can see the Negro men and women winding their way from all parts of the city back to their own restricted area.

Within the confines of this district, the isolation of the average Negro from the city's community life is almost complete, or at least as complete as it can get in a city where Negroes number almost one out of ten in the total population. Negroes have their own churches, their own schools, their own newspapers, and their own insurance companies. The situation for the Negro is in some ways analogous to that of the residents of beleaguered Berlin. Communications are not entirely cut off, but they are perilously tenuous and uncertain. There are in Chicago few areas where Negroes and whites meet socially on equal terms. Outside of a few neutral spots, the Negro is usually cut off from the larger life of the community as a whole, and the description of the Negro district as a city-within-a-city seems amply justified.

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A LARGE PART of the latter-day history of housing in Chicago has centered around the effort of the expanding Negro population to find more living space and the corresponding effort of a large part of the white population to keep them on the other side of the invisible color line. Over the years the Negro ghetto has expanded by fits and starts, with a block added here and a block there to the total area, but this expansion has not kept up with the growing population. In general, the principles of segregation and holding the line have been successfully maintained over the years by property owners, real estate associations, and dwellers in white residential areas.

Although there are wide variations from one neighborhood to another inside the Negro community, it is still gross understatement to say that living conditions in most cases are bad. There is one square mile in the Negro section of the South side which has been cited so often that it has become something of a sociological cliché. However, it does provide a good example of some of the worst features of Negro housing. It used to be said that this one square mile contained 90,000 people. Today the true figure is probably closer to 100,000. An average white neighborhood, not suburban, might run about 30,000 per square mile. In this gap between 30,000 people per square mile in the white neighborhood and 90,000 per square mile in the most crowded Negro neighborhood lies a whole textbook of human misery and stark tragedy.

The buildings in this area are almost incredibly jam-packed with people. The neighborhood is full of "kitchenette apartments," a euphemism usually employed in the Negro district to describe one room with a gas plate in the closet. Since entire families often live in these kitchenettes, sharing bathroom facilities with eight or ten other families, it is easy to see how an astronomical population figure is possible. A frightening number of the buildings are waiting only for a chance spark to become blazing deathtraps.

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People live in stove-heated attics with cardboard partitions, in tenements in the last stages of disrepair and near-collapse, sometimes even in coal-bins. Times are never normal in this community, and housing is always at a premium where the residents cannot cross the color line to buy or rent, regardless of social or cultural level and ability to pay. To the question that is inevitably asked, "Why do they live like that?" there is only one simple answer: "There is no place else for them to go."

In discussing the Negro community it is necessary to mention the poverty and terrible overcrowding which encourage family breakdowns, the spread of juvenile delinquency and the higher crime and disease rates. And to drive home the point, everyone knows horror stories, like the recent tragic case of the Negro baby whose nose was completely eaten away by rats as he lay in his crib. Sometimes the champions of segregation turn triumphantly to such facts and say: "See! What did we tell you? You've got to keep the Negroes where they are, or you'll have such conditions in your neighborhood."

What such racists do not say is that Chicago has forced these conditions on the Negro poor. They never hint that the Negro is the victim rather than the cause of these conditions. And a very large proportion of the white population, accepting the folklore and superstitions of another generation, believe that race itself, rather than poverty and over-crowding, produces such conditions.

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ONLY AGAINST this background can one understand the tempest aroused in Chicago by the recently proposed Carey Ordinance. Last fall there was introduced into the City Council of Chicago a proposed Ordinance called a "Non-Discrimination Ordinance for Publicly-Aided Housing." This title was too long for most people, and it was popularly referred to as the Carey Ordinance, after the Alderman who introduced the measure. The title of the Ordinance makes clear just about what the measure was intended to do; the only catchy part is the reference to "publicly-aided" housing.

The Carey Ordinance was designed to apply only to housing in which the municipality was involved; all current federal housing projects must now be non-discriminatory in nature, by provision of law. In addition to federally financed housing, the City of Chicago has a three-way housing and slum-clearance program of its own, which has been kicking around (and been kicked around) for some time now. This program calls for the City to use its powers of eminent domain to acquire land for slum-clearance. After the land is collected and cleared, three different types of housing are contemplated. The first is straight municipally built housing, operated by the Chicago Housing Authority. The second type is what is called non-profit housing, privately built and intended primarily for veterans. The third type combines the features of private and public housing, and it was around this kind of housing that most of the in-fighting on the Carey Ordinance took place.

Under present law, the City of Chicago is unable to follow the example of New York in offering long period tax-exemption as an inducement to large-scale building for investment. In lieu of tax-exemption, the City hit on the idea of offering land, on which building could be done, at much less than the cost of acquiring and clearing it. For instance, to acquire and clear land in a blighted area might cost the City of Chicago $3 a square foot; as an inducement to private capital, the City would then offer it for private large-scale building at 50c a foot. One purpose in offering this saving was to bring large-scale building back closer to the center of the city; without this subsidy private housing capital would be more inclined to go to the outskirts of the city where land is cheaper. The city's official theory was a kill-two-birds-with-one-stone idea; the planners figured on getting slum clearance plus more housing, all for the price of one. In addition, there were whispers that the large property owners in the city's center, the Loop, were worried about the residential trend toward the outskirts of town, where more and more shopping and business centers have been springing up. Some say that the powerful influence of these large Loop property owners was also on the side of subsidized, close-in housing. In any case, whatever the complexity and variety of reasons involved, that was the plan.

It is doubtful that there would have been as much controversy over the Carey Ordinance if the program had not involved this provision for the investment of private capital. In purely public housing, the idea that "all must benefit equally in what all pay for" is, if not completely accepted, at least very difficult for its opponents to fight. But the element of private capital plus public aid in the shape of tax money spent on land complicated the issue to a very great extent and even divided the forces that normally would have been all for non-discrimination.

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THE FIRST specific case on which the Ordinance would have been tested involved the New York Life Insurance Company. The New York Life planned to build a rental project of 1400 units, after first acquiring the land from the city at the bargain basement rates. The area involved was close to twenty acres, situated in the

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Negro community at 31st Street and South Park Way.

When the Carey Ordinance was introduced, much of the activity on the housing program virtually came to a standstill. No one knows for sure to this day whether this was necessary, or whether the forces opposed to the Ordinance just wanted to use the delay as an argument. Several interested parties went to New York, to see the representatives of the capital tentatively slated for Chicago housing. After their return, it was generally said that the large insurance companies would not touch a project which involved a non-discrimination clause. No New York insurance official would allow himself to be quoted on this matter, so to this day no one is certain that the Carey Ordinance would have scared off the private capital.

In time, however, most of the proponents of the measure came around to more or less agreeing that the Ordinance might possibly scare off private capital. They said, however, that there were alternative methods, such as FHA, cooperative ventures and the like. To most people these alternatives sounded a little weak, and the average citizen seemed to regard the Insurance Company money as the bird in the hand and held the traditional view of the two birds in some FHA bush. Very early in the controversy, therefore, the opponents of the Non-Discrimination Ordinance managed to make it, rightly or wrongly, a struggle between housing and non-discrimination.

In any case, there was enough chance that housing capital would be driven away to make many people who normally would have enthusiastically supported the measure inclined to shy away from it. One big danger most such people were conscious of was the potentially very bad effect all this controversy could have on the relationship between Negroes and whites. Housing is so desperately short in Chicago that it could be disastrous if the man-in-the-street got the idea that efforts for interracial justice were blocking housing. Many people of good will felt that the Carey Ordinance was introduced at a bad time and was poorly drawn. All in all, there were almost as many shades of opinion as there were people actively involved, and rarely has there been a proposed legislative reform in which "pro" opinion was so finely divided.

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AS THE ISSUE came closer and closer to a vote, however, lack of support for the proposal began to look like a vote for discrimination. Many people who had been tepid or unfavorable because of prudential judgments of one sort or another now switched over to support the Ordinance. For many of them, however, their private position continued to be one of wishing the Ordinance had not been introduced at that time or in precisely that form. Since it had, however, they decided to stand up and be counted in favor of it. In the end there were at least sixty-four civic and religious groups supporting the proposed legislation.

During all the controversy in the newspapers and forums of the city, Mayor Kennelly had never committed himself in any way on the measure, except that his silence could hardly have been termed encouraging. On the day the City Council was to vote on the measure early in March, the Mayor led off by declaring himself against the proposed Ordinance. The Mayor's big point seemed to be that he had pledged himself to deliver houses by floating a public bond issue for that purpose, that he had a prior duty to the bond-holders involved, and that he could not imperil the success of the housing program in general.

It should be remembered that Kennelly is a mayor with a great deal of prestige. He is a reform mayor, a Democrat but a rebel from the old Kelly machine. He is that rare creature one often hears about and seldom sees, the businessman mayor, and he is pledged to reform of tax procedure, wiser spending, and a general overhauling of the machinery of the municipal government. So far most people seem satisfied with the progress he is making, and his popularity is still high. No one knows for certain whether or not the Carey Ordinance would have passed if Kennelly had remained neutral. But when he came out against it, its fate was sure and certain. On a roll-call vote, the measure was defeated by the City Council, 31 to 13.

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IT IS NOT easy to measure accurately the results of the controversy and of the eventual defeat of the Non-Discrimination Ordinance. In view of the final outcome, it seems clear that little but harm was done. Those who were all for the Carey Ordinance naturally feel they have lost a major battle. All concerned with the problem feel that non-discrimination has received a setback, not only here but in other cities which are contemplating such a program. Those for non-discrimination who were unenthusiastic about the Carey Ordinance wish they could have chosen their own means and their own time for the fight. Even having the press break its usual silence on the subject of race was of dubious value in this case; too many people have carried away from the newspaper accounts only the idea that groups working for interracial justice imperil housing. All in all, the civic and religious organizations which supported the measure have little to rejoice about in the final outcome.

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In the Negro community itself, resentment naturally runs rather high. There was a bitter sort of irony in the fact that the defeat of the Ordinance came very shortly after the national celebration of Brotherhood Week, a fact the Negro press did not neglect to notice. Whether or not the New York Life housing project eventually admits Negroes voluntarily, or even if it becomes an all-Negro project, Negro leaders are afraid the defeat of the Carey Ordinance has set a very bad precedent which may affect the situation in Chicago for many years. What they fear is that the pattern of segregation has been reinforced and strengthened for a long time to come. Since the New York Life project is only one small part of a long-range civic development program, there is real danger that segregation as a public policy may be confirmed and remain as a long continuing feature of Chicago's face-lifting process.

In the last ten years or so, an estimated 50,000 Negroes have come to Chicago from the South. This migration process will continue, under the pressure of increasing mechanization of Southern agriculture and the growing desire on the part of Negroes in the South for greater civil liberties. Under the circumstances, it is hard to see how even the upholders of the color line could deny that the already over-crowded Negro area must expand, and soon. Right now, housing in the South side Negro area is almost literally bursting out at the seams. Under the pressure of a growing population and deteriorating housing, an already intolerable situation will grow even more desperate, unless more housing opportunity is provided for the Negro community. In the long run, my personal opinion is that no satisfactory and long-range solution can be worked out under a pattern of segregation. Improvement can and should be made here and now, but over the years segregation as a public policy of government creates more problems than it pretends to solve.

Today, in the fourth year after the defeat of Hitler and the victory over Japan, the major social challenge in Chicago remains that of interracial justice. The defeat of the Carey Ordinance merely serves to highlight that problem. And the immediate, Number One, $64 question remains: Where are the houses? That is a good question, and it deserves a better answer than it has been getting.

The Conflict In Poland

What chance have Catholics in the struggle for a new social order?

Alexander Janta

OBSERVING religious duties has become one of the chief, and only, means of demonstrating opposition to the existing régime in Poland. No political expression is, of course, possible. So that if the civil rights, which are now liquidated, were restored, and the weight of oppression lifted, there might be not a renaissance of Polish Catholicism, but even a lessening in the external manifestations of religious fervor. For today, people sing loudly more to plague the Government than to please the Church.

The difference in tactics, applied in all spheres, was well illustrated for me by a representative of the Catholic Youth in Poznan after a public discussion held at the university. He told me, sadly, that the Catholic representatives were "intellectually pale" in comparison with their opponents. When Thomistic philosophy was discussed, it seemed that the attacking Marxists knew it better, and put their Catholic opponents on the defensive. Indeed, he concluded, today the Marxists are always attacking, the Catholics defending.

In the face of competition which also seeks to rule over souls, the Church retains but few characteristics of a militant church. Marxism, on the other hand, possesses many traits of a religious movement. And it is out now to capture not the masses, but the dynamic elements of the new generation. It attracts them with well-reasoned, persuasive arguments. It replaces idealistic reasoning, and even faith, with its system of materialistic dialectics, which provides an answer to everything.

For young people who have experienced, personally, the bankruptcy of world order, the need to find some key to the new realities, is met by the teachings of Marx. Instead of a catastrophic vision of the end of the world, instead of a resigned acceptance of all vicissitudes, instead of standing guard over the tombs and souvenirs of a cruel past, they search for an escape from the trap into which fate has led them. Marxism, as a philosophy of battle, as an optimistic doctrine, painting tomorrow in the bright colors of victory on all fronts, has taken root in some minds.

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This orientation is favored officially and offers priorities and advancement in all fields. Ambitious, capable and dynamic individuals, and even whole groups of young people, are thus withdrawn from the influence of their families and of the Church. Theirs is a generation which has learned to value the tactics and techniques of living more than its ideological substance.

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH has lost both its constitutional and its actual status as a privileged religion in Poland. It has lost out, on both these counts, to a doctrine which, though it is not framed in any liturgy, has the long-term ambition of replacing the Church as a basis for faith. Faith not metaphysical but reasoned, the foundation both for a world outlook and the reason for individual existence.

In the intellectual struggle which preceded this replacement, the Marxists seem to have had a more distinguished, more clever, and better disciplined staff. Until recently, however, the battle raged only on the periphery, without real meeting between the forces. In fact the Marxists still feel they should not unduly alarm. Their aim is exactly the opposite. Until recently there was a demonstration of public toleration, and even participation by members of the Government in the religious practices of the country. The late Cardinal Hlond, however, categorically refused to sing the "Te Deum" after the elections, thus cutting off any kind of support from the Government. Nevertheless, many Party functions in the provinces still began with a Mass; when, for example, under the influence of the papal statement concerning the fate of the Germans expelled from the Western part of contemporary Poland, the local Party in Grabiszynek refused to provide an orchestra for the Corpus Christi procession, the higher Party authorities ordered the orchestra, and told the representatives of the workers to lead the priest in the procession so as not to provoke or to insult the religious feelings of the believers.

How is it possible to account for the weakness of intellectual weapons at the disposal of the Polish Church? Well, in pre-war Poland the Church was in the position of a capitalist who cuts coupons from bonds, instead of working for a living and increasing his capital in that fashion. Since the time of the enlightened constitution of May 3rd, 1791, the Church was monopolized in Polish life by the rightist politicians, and by the conservatives. During the twenty years of independence, the rightist National Democratic Party, and the radical-nationalist movement (ONR) identified themselves with Catholicism. The underground evolution of Poland during the German occupation was however characterized by a preponderance of radical social and economic programs. These were not Marxist-inspired, and did not follow the Russian pattern, but they had tendencies which would hardly be regarded as compatible with capitalism in the form in which, for example, it exists in the United States. Now today's situation has eliminated from influence and from participation in political life anything that smacks of the Right. In today's language, everything labeled "of bourgeois origin" is doomed to give way to the supposedly spontaneous new gospel of the "class-conscious proletariat." Of course, the spontaneity is far from real, and is skilfully directed, and produced under the threat of bitter reprisals.

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UNDER SUCH conditions the Church, which is changing but slowly its socio-political orientation, remains, if only because of the nature of its assumptions, a conservative rather than a progressive institution. It has lost many arguments, and has failed to make use of many chances to bring to bear the pressure of a competitive doctrine and practice on the present régime. That régime seeks to propagate among the masses a program with a radically anti-capitalist and anti-western slant; these are presented as arguments for social justice and freedom from exploitation. Such a program has never been consistently or convincingly presented by the Church, because the Church in Poland can be considered as a kind of owner in the same traditional sense which is today under attack. Under such circumstances, it is difficult for the Church to overbid the régime's program of social and economic reform, which it pushed to the fore, and which, eventually, will be directed against the Church itself.

The danger in merely trying to maintain one's position, of keeping immovable in the defense of acquired rights, is only too obvious in a world in which the rapacious dynamics of new forces and new ideals are working towards the total upset of the order by which the world still rotates, albeit unsurely and shakily.

An additional difficulty for the Church in Poland, is that all the beaten, illegal and opposition parties, movements, and programs, are trying to carry on their own work under clerical banners. This constitutes another serious threat and danger of a political character. For it binds the wings of the Church instead of helping to unfold them. Yet, in spite of a generally old-fashioned, weak, and unadjusted attitude to the present battle for influence over the leadership of youth, and, generally, of souls, there exist currents of lay Catholic action and thought which are representative of Christian ideology, and supplement the work of the confessional and pulpit.

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For example, one of the Catholic writers in Poland said to me that he had plenty of material to write a pamphlet on "What Catholicism owes to Marxism." He explained his title by saying that the challenge brought by the new ideology might have a salutary influence in changing the devotional, superficial and demonstrative character of Catholicism in Poland. The situation must cause people to go deeper into themselves, revise their attitudes, and might bring about a better understanding of the universal character of their faith, narrowed by nationalist and provincial mentalities.

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THE CENTRAL focus of the battle engaged in between Catholics and materialists in Poland is education. Religion, by the régime, is relegated to the churches; at least that is the way in which they plan the elimination of religion in education. This is, of course, strongly opposed by the hierarchy, which still has a large number of Catholic schools, and other educational institutions, with a leading Catholic university at Lublin.

An efficient and active welfare organization, *Caritas,* should be mentioned. It is doing a fine job, and has a well-established place in Polish life. Another institution of importance, as an example of living Christian practice, is the school for the blind in Laski, near Warsaw, which is known at the same time as a center of Catholic thought. Its influence reaches far wider than its educational activities amongst the sightless youth.

The few existing Catholic weeklies are instruments of Catholic influence, and are platforms for discussion. These fall into several groups. The Krakow group, *The Universal Weekly,* and the monthly, *The Sign,* represent moderate social radicalism, and are not linked with any political grouping. Their general position can be described as anti-totalitarian, anti-capitalistic, and anti-anti-Semitic.

The writings in the suppressed *Warsaw Weekly* were inspired by the educational ideal and the social doctrine of the Papal encyclicals, and derived its philosophy from the nationalistic, messianic and romantic traditions of Poland.

The outlook of the third group of Catholics is given by the weekly, *Today and Tomorrow.* The writers of this group are young people, and the group is characterized by its unorthodoxy. While other groups are people of the "libraries, knowledge and thought," this group admits the necessity of close cooperation with the régime, in order legally to defend the Catholic cultural positions. They claim that theirs are the most effective methods in the present situation; they are politically active and have three deputies in Parliament, who advocate their own positivism in relation to the socio-economic re-building now in progress. They practice what is sometimes called "wild Catholicism" because, while basically relying on Christian doctrine, they do not always proceed in accordance with the orders of the hierarchy, and sometimes even act in contradiction to them, causing suspicion and doubts.

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THE GREATEST figure in the Polish Church is the venerable 80-year-old Cardinal Sapieha, of a princely family, a man whose dignity and firmness at the time of the German occupation won him a respect and admiration without parallel in Poland. By popular opinion, he is considered to represent a bold apostolic solution of the growing conflict between the Church and communism. It is embodied in the slightly Utopian formula of "Baptizing Marx." What is meant thereby is to try to bring together the constructive elements of both doctrines, one moral, the other socio-economic. If freedom of conscience and the dignity of man, which in Catholic doctrine cannot be the object of interference or duress on the part of the state, are respected again, there would be nothing wrong in the present forms of economic radicalism and socialization, which the Communists advocate. But this explanation was given me by others, and is not one authorized by Cardinal Sapieha himself.

After the death of Cardinal Hlond, Bishop Stefan Wyszynski replaced him as Primate of Poland. It is interesting to note that this comparatively young dignitary—he is only 46 years old—and a scholar of considerable achievements, has been a leader of Christian labor unions, and an advocate of labor rights. He was sometimes even accused of radical leanings, and has been called the workers' Bishop. His views on labor problems, as a result of specialized studies on the subject, are noted for their progressiveness. As far back as 1928 he wrote that "the dissatisfaction of the working masses is not only the result of subversive propaganda; there are substantial reasons for it in the existence of rapacious capitalism." He is a man to watch.

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THE NEW PHASE of the revolution, which began at the close of last year, brought a growing danger of decisive conflicts between the Church and the party. Whatever its handicaps, the Church still represents a force, widely supported by the Polish people, which is the only remaining active defender of inalienable human rights and the respect of the individual. It represents the great opposition, deeply rooted in the feelings of the nation, which can neither be ignored, nor taken lightly. The final outcome of the present conflict between the now clearly-crystallized, opposing doctrines will decide the ultimate history not of Poland alone, but of the whole of Europe.

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CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL NEWS

African Indians versus Natives

"ALL WE desire is that the Government provide ships and we will see the Indians on their way to India. We will help them back."

These are the sentiments expressed by one of the 30,000 South African natives who have brought their complaints to the Acting Native Commissioner, Mr. C. F. D. Nel, since November, 1945. He reported them to the South African Commission whose study of the race riots in Durban last January was made public April 16. The report is expected to be discussed when India's charges of discrimination against minorities in South Africa are taken up in the United Nations General Assembly.

One hundred and forty-two persons were killed and 1,087 injured in the bitter clashes between Zulus and Indians in South Africa. The Zulus, whom the investigating commission blamed for starting the riots, have three major complaints, a missionary who has studied the underlying causes of the rioting told CIP. The natives claim that the Indians are guilty of immoral assaults on Zulu women; that the Indian traders, who own almost all of the stores in native section, exploit the natives with high prices and inferior goods; and that the Indians receive privileged treatment from the Government.

These charges were admitted in part by the investigating commission. Its report, although it suggested no remedies, warned against a tendency to exaggerate them as causes of friction. The first of the complaints, that Indians are guilty of immoral assaults on Zulu women, involves racial rather than moral scruples. Raised in a tribal tradition which is the fruit of centuries of paganism, many South African negroes are loose in their morality, and illegitimate offspring are not uncommon. A particular difficulty lies in the fact that an illegitimate Negro child may be received into a native family group, but not the illegitimate child of an Indian, which is neither Indian or African. The natives primarily resent the seduction of their women as an intrusion by a somewhat superior outsider.

The natives are at the mercy of a minority of the Indian population who control the trading posts at which natives buy supplies, or sell their products. As the missionary described it, "the experience of being cheated in quantity or quality is hateful to everyone, but still more to illiterate and simple folk who cannot defend themselves. What, for instance, is the use of marking prices if the buyer does not know how to read?"

Governmental regulations regarding trade with the natives have been passed, but the difficulty of enforcing them in rural areas makes them ineffective.

The charge that the Indians are being given preferential treatment by Government authorities is difficult to trace since, as the investigating committee pointed out, in many cases the Indians are more clever at breaking the law without being caught. A factor which is largely responsible for this condition, and which also applies to the whole Negro-Indian controversy, is that neither the Negroes nor the Indians have any real share in the Government of the country. Giving them such a share of responsibility would require the minority European community to give up some of its authority in the Union. Such a move is contrary to the present administration of Prime Minister D. F. Malan, which is in favor of depriving the natives of the slim representation they now have in the Union Parliament, and abolishing their limited franchise.

In the opinion of the same African missionary, changes are required in the Negro as well as in the non-African community before natives can assume a larger share in civil administration. The non-African community, he stated, will have to abandon racial pride, and approach the natives' problems in terms of justice with a sincere desire for their spiritual and material advancement.

The natives, he pointed out, are apt to over-estimate their actual capacities because of progress already made, and claim rights which they are not yet able to assume. "Patience," the missionary said, "may seem a hard word to the spirited African leaders who want their country to advance rapidly. . . . No sensible African expects his crop to ripen in a couple of days, and he cannot reasonably expect his country to reach the required level of spiritual and material development in a couple of years." (New York, 4/28—CIP.)

Bulgarian Guarantees to Religion

THE NEW Bulgarian "Law to Guarantee Freedom of Conscience and Religion," adopted Feb. 17, 1949, illustrates what is meant by "freedom of religion" in a "People's Democracy":

ARTICLE 3: "Every religious denomination must have a Governing Board responsible to the State. When taking up their posts, all priests, ministers and other officials of Churches and Church Organizations must take an oath of allegiance, or sign a solemn declaration of loyalty, to the People's Republic."

ARTICLE 22: "No religious denomination or religious organization may maintain hospitals, welfare centers, kindergartens, or similar institutions. Such institutions belonging to a Church when this law takes effect become State property."

ARTICLE 24: "No religious body may maintain correspondence with Church organizations, official persons or other institutions outside Bulgaria without prior authorization by the Minister of Foreign Affairs."

ARTICEL 25: "No religious denomination or Church organization having its center outside Bulgaria may maintain missions, churches, etc., in Bulgaria. Those existing now become State property within a month. Compensation will be paid."

ARTICLE 32: "All Church statutes, laws, and regulations must be approved by the Minister, who has the right to demand their amendment or withdrawal."

ARTICLE 33: "Within one month, all religious denominations and Churches in Bulgaria must register with the Minister the names of their priests, ministers, and officials. Only those approved by the Minister may remain at their posts." (New York, 4/23—CIP.)

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Communications

MODERN GERMAN WRITERS

THE WRITER of the following letter is the author of an article, "Modern German Writers," THE COMMONWEAL, March 11, 1949. In this article Dr. Fischer, among other comments, took a hopeful view of the values coming out now in German literature; he also expressed some critical doubts about the work of one important German novelist, Elisabeth Langgaesser.

Last week in this column Dr. Clara Menck, writing from Germany, disagreed somewhat with Dr. Fischer's high evaluation and with his critical opinions. As a last word, here is his reply. THE EDITORS.

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: No doubt, Dr. Clara Menck is much closer to the life and rivalries of the German literary cliques than this writer, who has lived for 13 years among the skyscrapers of New York. But there may have been also some assets in viewing the German scene from the distance of the New World, where one was able to follow up the cultural and literary work of the other great nations while Germany was isolated. And have you really to stay in a nation to have a panoramic view of her literature? How then could we dare to lecture here on European literature and even on such distant periods as the Middle Ages?

Anyway, the main controversy between Mrs. Menck and myself is not a question of facts but of values: the judgment on Elisabeth Langgaesser's novel *Das Unauslöschliche Siegel*. While Mrs. Menck has published in the monthly *Frankfurter Hefte* an unrestrained eulogy of this novel and sticks to her appraisal in her letter to THE COMMONWEAL, I am unable to find in it more than an experiment, very artistic in details, but not satisfactorily achieved as a whole.

Mrs. Menck imputes to me the error of looking for the classical forms of Raphael in a picture of Breughel. But this is incorrect: I am looking in my analysis of Langgaesser's novel for Breughel's power to organize space and figures, and I find instead a literary impotence to integrate her rich material. I am in sympathy with Elisabeth Langgaesser's ambition, but I am not willing to accept obscurity for depth and intentions for achievements.

The writer of this rather polemical letter who had the chance "to observe the development first hand," claims that she never saw an admonishing line in Langgaesser's verses. It is strange indeed that so ardent an admirer should not remember the poem *Fürche Gott* (Fear God) which to me is her most beautiful and profound piece of poetry.

Honestly, I think it does not do much harm for Mrs. Menck to overrate this poetess. It is sometimes useful to overemphasize in order to break the blunt resistance against a new style of poetry. What I dislike in her letter is that she debunks the whole contemporary German literature in order to glorify her heroine in the midst of a barren world.

As I read many of the excellent books and theater and literary journals that are flowing nowadays from Germany, I marvel at the vitality and spiritual energy, especially of the younger authors. And while I am writing this letter, the postman brings me the last issue of our *Modern Language Journal* with an article on the German Literary Scene 1946-48 by Victor Lange. I am glad to see that the head of Cornell's German Department agrees basically with my high evaluation of the writers now coming to the fore.

It is completely arbitrary that Mrs. Menck concedes gracefully to five or six authors a place beside her arch-poetess, and for the rest sees only "silence, propaganda and Kitsch." Does she really think that Reinhold Schneider is "Kitsch"? Why does she ignore the great novelist Waldemar Augustiny who has just published a new, wonderful book, *Die Rückkehr des Novalis*? Why does she not mention the rich lyrical voices of present-day Germany, including Elisabeth Langgaesser's favorite poet Wilhelm Lehmann?

And why does she avoid giving aesthetic evaluation of Ernest Juenger, perhaps the most gifted prose-writer of his country, but instead gives only a denunciation of his changing convictions? We happen to celebrate this year the two hundredth birthday of Germany's greatest poet: Goethe. He went through manifold changes of mind, for instance from pantheism to theism and from hero-worship for Napoleon to praise of the German victory over the French conqueror. Let us not throw stones on those who press forward from error to truth.

Strangely enough, the letter writer chides me that I am looking for traditional values in Germany literature. As I read the essays and the poetry sent me from Germany, it is evident that the main problem of the German intelligentsia, cut off by Nazism from their own tradition and from the western world, is their eagerness to come back to the eternal values of a Christian and humane heritage. Only the Bolsheviks defy these values in favor of totalitarian revolution. The lectures on religion, on history, on old German poetry in the universities of Germany's western zones are overcrowded; the masterworks of the German mind are published in new editions. Vital literature has always been based on cultural continuity.

MAX FISCHER.

FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS

State College, Pa.

TO the Editors: In your editorial "Western Germany and Western Union" (COMMONWEAL April 8) you state that the French know the Germans best, that for them history has repeated itself three times in seventy years, and that what is told three times is apt to be true. The reference is to the three wars between France and Germany, the implication being that three times since 1870 France has been the innocent victim of vicious attack from the east.

This is one of the great distortions of history. The world remembers Bismarck. It forgets how Napoleon schemed and plotted for several years prior to 1870 to precipitate a war with Prussia, how it was he who de-

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clared war, and that he did so only after receiving assurance from his inept minister of war that all was in readiness down to the proverbial last button.

Again in 1914, the world remembers the blustering of the Kaiser, not the quiet, unprincipled machinations of Poincaré and Clemenceau. In assessing the responsibility for the war that broke out in 1914 historians—I do not say journalists—are inclined to lay no more blame on Germany than on France. Only in 1939 was France's culpability patently less than Germany's, yet for the record and to disabuse those who keep repeating how Germany has thrice invaded France, it was France who declared war on Germany in 1939 and it was France who invaded Germany, not the reverse. Yes, we may sympathize with France, not with France as a guileless lamb three times pounced upon by her militaristic neighbor, but with a France who could never quite get herself to realize that because of birth control and other factors Germany had taken from her her century-old leadership in Continental European affairs.

JOSEPH DAHMUS,
Pennsylvania State College
History Department.

HOUSING COSTS

Boston, Mass.

TO the Editors: In THE COMMONWEAL (April 15) John C. Cort gives $1,829.15 as the "on-site labor costs" of a home in the San Francisco Bay area selling for $12,000. The detailed breakdown appeared in *The Labor Leader* for March 28.

Like Mr. Cort, my wife and I assumed these figures were not for a prefabricated dwelling. When she quoted them in a course on modern houses taught by one of Carl Koch's associates, and when I showed them to some friends, both of us promptly had our ears knocked down.

Closer examination of the breakdown makes us think the house must have been largely prefabricated. Even at today's inflated costs it is probably a five or six room structure. Can six carpenters build such a house in ten days? Is it possible for two electricans to wire it in a day and a half, and four plumbers to install all the fixtures in two days? The cost of painting (sixteen painter days) is $240 for this new structure. A repaint job on the inside only of a six room house of a friend of ours in Braintree, Mass., recently cost $600-$700. An ex-painter friend of ours guessed $900 as the minimum cost of painting a new dwelling. On seeing *The Labor Leader's* figures he just snorted.

The percentage cost of labor in the building trades is probably exaggerated, just as it is in other industries, but we feel that a correct evaluation of the labor cost for the San Francisco homes cannot be made without further information. If these were largely prefabricated, Local 1149 of the Carpenters' Union has been guilty of presenting information in a manner very misleading to any average layman not connected with the building trades.

J. KENNETH O'LOANE.

CHRISTIAN ART

Westport, Conn.

TO the Editors: In your April 15th issue I find quoted (without comment) an editorial from *Liturgical Arts* urging the need for a school of Christian art.

First, may I express my doubt of the value to be derived from such a school, especially if the object is to train teachers of art. We have already, perhaps, too many teachers killing the joy of art before it can decently be developed in their pupils and we have too few artists. A greater dose of pedagogy will not be of any great help.

Secondly, and more fundamentally, while it may be possible to form a school to promote Church art, this is not the same as promoting *Christian art,* the latter not only having much broader connotations but also much greater difficulties in its realization. For one, I would agree with Eric Gill and Jacques Maritain, both of whom decry the idea of a school teaching Christian art. Says Maritain in his *Philosophy of Art*: "The Christian work of art must have the artist holy, *qua* man. . . . If in the midst of the unspeakable catastrophes called down by the modern world, there be a time to come, however brief, of pure Christian springtide, it is lawful to hope that those years may see, together with a wondrous radiation of Catholic spirituality and intellectuality, a second spring, to the joy of men and angels, of veritably Christian artistry. . . . Still let us not attempt to unyoke and isolate it, by premature and academic stress, from the great movement of contemporary art. It will not emerge and will not impose itself as *Christian art* unless it springs spontaneously from a common rejuvenation of both art and holiness in the world." Both Maritain and Gill agree that if any instruction is useful, it is that of the apprentice and the master, not that of academies and theoreticians. I think they have a point worth consideration.

MICHAEL D. REAGAN.

RENT CONTROLS

Nashville, Tenn.

TO the Editors: For THE COMMONWEAL I feel and have long felt a personal esteem and affection such as I've never experienced toward any other publication. So please be assured that *fidelia vulnera amantis.* . . .

It is disappointing to find *you* (April 8, Home Rule Rent Control) giving aid and comfort to the Socialist Administration of Harry Truman by your cynical and immoral leading editorial [which expressed disappointment at the relaxing of federal rent controls at this time]. Is not a weak (in votes) minority entitled to fair and just laws? . . .

I belong to the most numerous class of landlords: the small or (thanks to ruinous control) pauper landlords. (Our problem is not Existentialism but Subsistentialism.) Control is obviously the direct cause of scarcity of dwellings. Everything else (including THE COMMONWEAL) has gone up 25 to 100 percent. Rents must go up, or houses fall down. Rents are my wages. Is it right for Government to subsidize tenants out of *my* pocket? Or to forbid *me* to get a living wage, while letting you (and everybody else) be paid? W. B. CAMPBELL.

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The Stage & Screen

Random Notes on the D.C.C.

TO BE FRANK, it seems to me Mr. Wolcott Gibbs so thoroughly dispensed with the fun-loving doings of the Drama Critics Circle two weeks ago in the pages of the *New Yorker* that any further comment would be silly. However, it is true that Mr. Gibbs was writing in advance of the recent award-giving meeting of the Circle and it is also true that he was openly writing a burlesque. The trouble is, I've got the feeling that very few of his readers will understand that in regard to the D.C.C., a burlesque is the only possible method of account. I wish I could borrow Mr. Gibbs's talents in this direction, but since I cannot, and since a number of my points differ from his own, it may be useful to outline them here for the view of all concerned. I hope no one will mind if I simply list them as they come up.

1949: Let's get this straight at the cost of tedious repetition. For this year the Circle voted the best American play, Arthur Miller's "Death Of A Salesman"; the best foreign play, "The Madwoman Of Chaillot"; the best musical, "South Pacific." I was extremely pleased to be part of the winning majority on the first two items, and somewhat disappointed to find myself in sole support of "Love Life" on the third ballot.

The Problem of Citations: Until last year (1948) it was the custom of the Circle to support its vote with a brief citation supposedly giving the reasons for its choice. However it was found, in the fifteen minutes allowed by the chairman, that no one understandably could frame a sensible statement, and the citation part of the award was therefore dropped. It was again dropped this year without discussion. In comment, I must say that it is exactly here that the Circle would seem to emerge as a promotional rather than as a critical organization. After all, if you cannot tell (or afford the time to tell), *why* you like a thing, you can hardly be called a critic. As I see it, the office of drama critic has a function exactly double that of the literary critic. A literary critic must judge only from the viewpoint of writer and reader; a drama critic must judge from the viewpoint of writer, actor, audience *and* producer. I think the latter category is very important, and certainly it has always been so stressed in this column. If an embattled manager could somehow learn what was the current critical consensus demanded of the Broadway theater, he would lose less money and therefore have more to spend in support of that theater. *Why* Miller, Williams, Brecht, Giradoux, Lorca are important is, of course, what he needs to know. And it is what his writers need to know, his actors, and certainly the public.

Some Personal Citations (an aside): For "Salesman": an American play which, in thoroughly exploring its title, develops a new technique whereby memory, nostalgia and introspection, as well as action, can be displayed on the physical stage. For "Madwoman": a delightful fantasy by one of France's first dramatists which again proves the French love and understanding of spiritual adventure. For "Love Life": a musical scheme exposing a modern sociological problem in witty lyrics, as witty tunes, and fact as well as history. (Golly!)

Circle Procedure: Speed. It is understandable perhaps that an "informal" organization should employ a parliamentary procedure which is, to say the least, partial. I mean partial on the side of the presiding officers. In three years of attendance, I have heard only one discussion allowed in a meeting. This was deliberately introduced by Mr. Atkinson, mysteriously sabotaged by Mr. Nathan, supported by four members including myself, and openly voted down by a majority. All in all, a red-letter day.

Circle Heroes: Together with Mr. Atkinson, I will nominate the Messrs. Barnes and Watts. The two latter gentlemen have sometimes been heard in articulate dissent, although never, alas, at the same time.

Circle Behavior: See Mr. Gibbs. Oh, and also Mr. Watts . . . "The melancholy truth is (the critics) don't really like each other" . . .

The Whole Deal: In a shaky world, engaged in a "cold war," perhaps it will be a matter of public understanding that a group of adult and intellectually employed people could be so steadily complacent. But as a matter of private understanding, I must confess the situation has me baffled. Outside the Drama Critics Circle, the American theater is at this time putting up something of a decent fight. There is congressional action expected in the near future with regard to a subsidy for a National Plan similar to Great Britain's; ANTA is honestly working on a country-wide basis; and most of the unions, plus the producers, are engaged in discussion. *Inside* the Circle, however, there is no news. There is some small talk about how to send somebody flowers; there are diverting suggestions about how *not* to give a party; and there is this paltry vote. What all this has to do with maintaining "the prestige and dignity of dramatic criticism" (I quote from the organization's Constitution), I don't know. As far as I can see, the Circle's sole distinction is in maintaining a wholly imaginary *status quo*. And a more nursery notion of service I cannot possibly conceive.

KAPPO PHELAN.

How Many Crimes Are Committed in Thy Name!

BASED on an episode in Robert Sylvester's book, "Rough Sketch," *"We Were Strangers"* tells about a group of revolutionists in Cuba during the 1930s and their plot to blow up all the tyrants with one big bang. Under John Huston's expert direction this theme is at times very exciting (because it has all the heart-tugs of under-dogs valiantly fighting to throw off oppression) and it is at times endlessly dull (because the rebels plan to dig a tunnel under the cemetery and then shoot off their bomb when the president and big shots are gathered for a funeral BUT Director Huston takes us through

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every step of the digging and we are as worn out as the revolutionists by the time we have carried all those bags of dirt and set our dynamite at the tomb).

The cast in this picture are excellent: John Garfield as the leader of the scheme, Jennifer Jones as the woman who joins the group after her brother is shot and from whose house the digging starts, Pedro Armendariz as the despicable inspector working for the police, and the four men who help with the digging and who contribute greatly to the film's sweaty and Cuban atmosphere. Every now and then the suspense is terrific; but the script by Peter Viertel and John Huston also includes several long talky scenes that slow up the action to a snail's pace. This script also proposes several interesting questions ("It is not wrong to kill a tyrant." "Which do you put first: Cuba or your conscience?") but its answers are vague; and one somehow get the impression that the movie goes so far as to say that any means to fight oppression are justifiable. With one conclusion we must all agree after we watch this valiant struggle: "It is hard to fail, but it is not a disgrace."

Another new film that shows how hard men will work to achieve their aims is *"The Undercover Man,"* a well-made semi-documentary about Treasury Agents and their strenuous efforts to convict an underworld czar. Since this gangster can't be pinned down for any of his really vicious crimes, the T-men hope to get him on charges of income tax evasion. Glenn Ford leads the large and good cast; and Joseph H. Lewis has directed this thriller in a manner that gives it an air of authenticity as well as plenty of suspense. After watching some of the more violent sequences, you may wonder about American justice and police methods which allow so many innocent people to be hurt in the pursuit of obvious criminals and racketeers.

The French have sent over a little item called *"Dedee"* which has as thoroughly unpleasant a group of characters as have appeared on our screens in a long time. Most of the action takes place in an Antwerp waterfront cafe, which is vividly depicted with sailors, fancy women and brawls, and is mainly involved with the efforts of Dedee to escape from her current companion whom she fears. When this man kills the Italian seaman who offers Dedee a way of escape, Dedee and the cafe manager kill him. The cast are realistic and honest enough in their portrayals; but the whole film is more like an excursion into the seamy side of life than an entertainment.

Although somewhat naive in execution, *"The Green Promise"* effectively washes away the dark brown taste left by pointlessly sordid films like "Dedee." It also has a few unpleasant characters, particularly the domineering farmer played by Walter Brennan. But according to this movie such unpleasantness is not so deep that it cannot be changed by several right-thinking children, a country agricultural agent and the local 4-H clubs with their good farm projects. Adults seeing this film will probably not be taken in by its obvious sermons; but children may enjoy the while thing. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

OF NOTE

National Health Program

IN THE official pamphlet, "A Voluntary Approach to a National Health Program," Bishop Karl J. Alter of Toledo, who is head of the NCWC's Bureau of Health and Hospitals and of the administrative board of the Catholic Hospital Association, writes the Introduction. Bishop Alter opposes the view that the country's medical needs must be met either by voluntary, private effort alone or by "an exclusive and compulsory government health insurance system." He continues:

> Many competent authorities fear that an exclusive state system under a compulsory tax will necessarily involve a loss of freedom for the voluntary health agencies and put an end to private initiative to the ultimate detriment of the health of the nation. There is no controversy or disagreement concerning the advisability or advantage of a prepayment plan to meet the cost of medical care. Acceptance of such plans is practically unanimous. The division of opinion concerns the question whether there should be an exclusive state monopoly or whether there should be a cooperating partnership between the government and voluntary health agencies. A right approach to the problem depends not only on a correct analysis of the concrete situation, but also on a correct social philosophy. The rights and duties of society, the state and the individual must be considered in relationship to one another.

★

Society is a much broader and more comprehensive concept than that of the state. Government is indeed a necessary agency of society, but it is not the only one. There are many others. Because man is a social being he enters into an association with others in order to achieve the benefits which are comprehended in the category of social welfare. There associations of a voluntary nature have as legitimate a right to exist as the state itself, provided they serve the common good. The State has a definite responsibility to help protect and promote the health of the nation inasmuch as the government is charged under the fundemental law with the duty of promoting the general welfare and inasmuch as the government alone has adequate resources to implement a comprehensive program. Voluntary agencies, however, have a definite right and responsibility to exercise an important function in planning as well as in executing such a program. It is socially undesirable to neglect the contribution of either the one or the other.

Individualism as a philosophy of life has been discredited, not only because it has failed in practice, but because it stems from a false concept of human nature. Man has a two-fold nature, both individual and social. His personal dignity and sacred rights originate in the fact that he is created as a distinct,

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intelligent and responsible person, with a destiny of his own. His full development as a human being can be achieved only in as far as he is a member of society and only in as far as the obligations of social justice and social charity are fully activated. Ethical and religious ideals which furnish the highest motivatioi in the care of the sick as in all social service can function more effectively in voluntary associations than through the medium of the modern secularist state.

Benedictine Composer Honored

THE *Catholic Sentinel*, diocesan paper of Portland, Oregon, recently reported an unusual memorial concent at nearby Mount Angel Abbey.

More than 1,000 people heard the Portland Symphony Orchestra play one of the late Father Dominic Waedenschwyler, O.S.B.'s compositions at the concert in his honor last Friday evening at the Mt. Angel Abbey.

Mr. Werner Janssen, conductor of the orchestra, planned the concert as a memorial program in honor of the Benedictine composer after being introduced to Father Dominic's music by Mr. Hilmar Grondahl, music editor of the *Oregonian*.

Father Dominic's "Call of the West," a symphonic poem in the form of an overture, headed the hour and a half Friday evening program, which included a Concerto Grosso by Geminiani, a Tocata and Fugue of Bach, and Brahms' Symphony No. 1 in C Minor.

Radio Station KOCO of Salem put the entire program on the air, together with a transcription ceremony in the Abbey cemetery Friday afternoon when Mr. Janssen placed a memorial wreath on Father Dominic's grave.

The Mt. Angel composer, a native of Switzerland, came to the United States and Mt. Angel in 1887. Two years later, he was appointed first rector of the newly founded Mt. Angel seminary. The seminary will celebrate its 60th anniversary next month.

Sent to Europe in 1906 to complete his musical education, he studied at the Berlin Conservatory of Music under Humperdinck, the composer of "Hansel and Gretel."

Pastor of St. Mary's in Mt. Angel, 1910-1929, he completed the large Gothic parish church and built the parochial school.

His most important compositions were written during the early 1900's, although his crowded schedule as parish priest allowed time for many smaller works composed for special occasions.

Broken health caused his retirement in 1929. Father Domenic died April 1, 1932.

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Architecture: All Things to All Men

WAYNE ANDREWS

WILLIAM KENT, so Margaret Jourdain tells us in her monograph (Scribner's, $15), was *a soft and civil companion, a fluid and attaching person,* and no one who glances at her account of Kent's career will regret that he rose from the obscurity of Yorkshire to become one of the privileged friends of the Earl of Burlington. A sumptuous designer of furniture if an uninspired painter, Kent was not only one of the memorable architects of the eighteenth century but an immortal landscape architect. Agreeing with Pope that "all gardening is landscape painting: you may distance things by darkening them, and by narrowing towards the end, in the same manner as they do in painting," Kent wrought a revolution in the layout of country houses by demolishing all walls and boundaries; due to his genius, parks and gardens were henceforth divided only by the "simple enchantment" of the ha-ha or sunken fence.

The study of Kent's artistic progress might have been the subject of a severely academic essay, of interest only to architectural historians, but Miss Jourdain's monograph, while scholarly, is so graceful a contribution to the history of eighteenth century England that it not only deserves, but should gain a wide audience in the United States. No reference in her book is irrelevant, no phrase is ponderous, and no quotation is too long. Indeed, after skimming through the ninety-one pages and poring over the magnificent illustrations, one wishes that Miss Jourdain had gone on, for volume after volume.

To sum up Miss Jourdain's achievement in a few words is a difficult task, but one cannot fail to compliment her and Mr. Christopher Hussey, who supplied the introduction, for recreating, so subtly and in so few paragraphs, the artistic scene of early eighteenth century England. The romantic classicism of the Earl of Shaftesbury is properly mentioned as a prelude to the Palladianism of the Earl of Burlington, and the Earl of Burlington himself is captured in Chesterfield's dry observation that he had "to a certain degree lessened himself by knowing the minute and mechanical parts of architecture too well."

Kent, who reached Rome in 1710 at the age of twenty-six, to spend eight years adoring Italian architecture at the expense of his Yorkshire admirers, had the good fortune to meet Burlington in the very shadow of Palladio's masterpieces. Taken up by Burlington on his arrival in London, Kent was suddenly established as the favorite designer of the most discriminating amateur of the day. Bluff Kent may have been, and fleshy, but his proud yet genial temperament must have been as much of a delight to the Earl as his skill at designing. Nicknamed "The Signior" for his Italian tastes, Kent wrote shortly after his return to London that he was "still at work here ye days being so short and cold to an Italian constitution yt I keep my little room, only twice a week yt I go to ye Operas where I am highly entertain'd, and then think myself out of this Gothick country."

★

POPE HIMSELF was amused at Kent, once informing a friend that "the Signior is in perfect tranquility, enjoying his own being, and is become a happy but plumper copy of General Dormer." And on another occasion, thinking how much his "very hot and very fat" friend would enjoy the vacant living of Eyham, Pope recommended him for the post to the Countess of Burlington, not that he knew "of any motive he could have to accept the Living, save to get into a soft Pulpit, where is a soft cushion to lay his soft Head and rest his tender Tail."

Though Miss Jourdain's text is crowded with cheerful anecdotes, she manages to describe Kent's feats in architecture and landscape gardening with such penetration that even those of us who have never set foot on the lawn of a great English estate will feel suddenly and splendidly at home. The temples of Stowe are revealed, the great house at Holkham, the gardens of Rousham, and such metropolitan monuments as the Horse Guards and the town house of Lady Isabella Finch at 44 Berkeley Square. This last, in Horace Walpole's words, is "as beautiful a piece of scenery as can be imagined."

★

TO TURN from Miss Jourdain's gay pages to the somber scholarship of Henry Chandlee Forman's *The Architecture of the Old South* (Harvard, $10) is enough to make one suspect that civilization has not yet crossed the Atlantic. Not, as the reader might imagine, a book about the architecture of the Old South, but merely an attempt to retell the familiar story of the survival of Gothic forms in seventeenth century America, Mr. Forman's volume is written in the prose one expects from a weary candidate for the Ph.D. degree. Though our seventeenth century buildings are interesting enough as archaeological specimens, many of Mr. Forman's readers, fatigued by his stylistic failings, will no doubt agree with Lord Baltimore, who pronounced the primeval houses of Maryland "very meane and Little, and generally after the manner of the meanest farm houses in England."

So fond is Mr. Forman of our seventeenth century Gothic that he cannot understand why the masters of the nineteenth century Gothic revival failed to build copies of the dwellings of the first settlers. "What a paradox," he writes, "to find that a century ago men endeavored to spread their own brand of birthday-cake Gothic throughout the country, when hundreds of real Gothic models stood nearby in the pine forests of the tidewater." As all students of our Gothic revival realize, the masters of the early nineteenth century were not copyists but creators of what might be called a new architecture rich in literary associations.

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IF MISS JOURDAIN'S prose is charming, and Mr. Forman's earnest, Albert Christ-Janer, the author of a new monograph on Eliel Saarinen (*Chicago,* $15), believes that the triumph of his Finnish-born hero must be told in the emphatic language of a twentieth century Nordic saga. All his life, Mr. Christ-Janer tells us, Mr. Saarinen has been "exploring form." And the rise of the architect from a cottage in Finland to his present substantial home in the suburbs of Detroit is explained in just such cloudy terms.

All this is unfortunate, for even if we fail to consider Saarinen one of the great architects of our time, his many achievements, both in the art-nouveau style of his early years, and in the modern idiom of the last decade, deserve to be presented to the public in a sensible book.

Perhaps, however, Mr. Christ-Janer's contribution is just the sort of monograph to suit Mr. Saarinen's taste. "Work," says Saarinen just beneath the full-page photograph which opens the volume, "is the key to creative growth of mind." Such a thought could hardly have occurred to William Kent who, when about to "grub up and ruin forever" a tree in the Earl of Burlington's park, was gently accused by the Countess of being the agent and attorney of Satan, having solaced himself "with syllabubs and damsels and other benefits of nature under the said tree."

Books

John C. Calhoun: Nullifier, 1829-1839. *Charles M. Wiltse. Bobbs-Merrill.* $6.00.

THE PUBLISHERS of this biography are not only pushing the sale of the book mentioned above, which has just been published, but also the preceding volume, *John C. Calhoun: Nationalist,* 1782-1828. I have just finished reading both volumes and hope to read the third and final volume when it is available. Although Calhoun has not been neglected by biographers, I have not read any other work which contains the wealth of detail found in each of the volumes mentioned. The first volume contains about seventy-five pages of notes and bibliographical material; the second one contains nearly one hundred pages of similar information. Primary source material is quoted continually in each of the big books.

No one can therefore complain on the score of quantity. But what about quality? There the readers will undoubtedly disagree. To one who, like this reviewer, looks with grave concern upon the growing power and complexity and secretiveness of the national government, the strictures upon such a government, as advanced by Calhoun, will be as meat and drink. To those who want the central government to be all powerful, even though the rights of the states and the liberties of the individual disappear, Calhoun will be as bad as many of the poorer history books picture him.

The earlier volume explains how Calhoun reached the point which enabled him to write the "South Carolina Exposition" of 1828. His earlier years at Yale, his law studies at Litchfield, Connecticut, his admission to the bar in 1808, and his election to the South Carolina legis-

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nature in the same year are some of the topics treated. In 1811 he went to Congress. Although he hoped at that time and for several years later, that the North would not take advantage of the South, so far as tariff legislation was concerned, he became thoroughly convinced by 1828 that the tariff favored by the industrial North would completely destroy the wealth of the agricultural South. Accordingly, he turned to the states' rights doctrine because he believed that the states were sovereign and that each state had the right to protect itself against legislation passed by the central government. He believed that the states had created the central government and that they were therefore superior to that which they had created. He believed that the Union could be saved only by preserving the loyalty of its citizens and he could see this loyalty disappearing in the South because the southerners believed they were being exploited by federal legislation.

Some will complain that Jackson receives rather severe treatment in the second volume. He does. The author is sympathetic to Calhoun. He believes that Calhoun should have been elected to the presidency in 1832 or at least in 1836, and he considers Jackson and Van Buren as politicians whose promises meant little. The famous Jefferson Day dinner in 1830 is well explained, as is also the Fort Hill address of 1831. Webster's position, the opposite of that taken by Calhoun, is honestly presented. The author maintains in effect that Calhoun never identified nullification with secession, but held rather that nullification might prevent secession and violence. Every student of the period knows how complex this problem is; certainly no attempt will be made in this review to settle the matter. However, regardless of your point of view, largely determined by whether you were born in the North or the South, you will find Calhoun's life understandable in these pages by his latest, and possibly best biographer.

PAUL KINIERY.

The Power of Freedom. Max Ascoli. Farrar, Straus. $2.75.

"... I AM a liberal and I don't want to add any qualifying adjective. In spite of the way this word has been abused, it is still good enough for me. I believe that freedom, as the title of this book suggests, is the propulsive power of civilization—a power that men have the ability to release and to control. I also believe that this power can drive the men of our time to goals so high and so good that we can only dimly discern them."

With those bold and optimistic words does Dr. Ascoli introduce his latest book *The Power of Freedom*. More specifically, Dr. Ascoli defines his optimism by saying ". . . our system of values is stronger than we think—indeed stronger that we deserve. . . . I do not think we need revolution, but what we do need is to be more thoroughly aware of the values for which we stand."

To bring out the full meaning of those values, Dr. Ascoli gives us, first of all, a thorough and penetrating outline of recent world history—from the day when, in the words of the Communist manifesto itself, the specter of communism started haunting Europe. In poignant terms, Dr. Ascoli describes the "corrosive" quality of communism, its "bedeviling" tactics, and goes on to define it as a distortion of our economic and political thinking, a caricature of democracy born of democracy's inability to keep pace with the development of modern technology. That's why the shadow of communism gives us such an uneasy conscience; and from this uneasiness grow our doubt and fear as sometimes we wonder in anguish whether, after all, communism may not be "the wave of the future"—an abominable future which would see "the complete subordination of man to his own technological and political instruments." Doom, says Dr. Ascoli, is just another name for communism.

At the same time, he adds, the shadow of Hitler is there to warn us of the fate in store for the nations which adopt fascism in order to fight communism. Our salvation, Dr. Ascoli points out, must come not from a military conflict with Soviet Russia (which might open the gates to fascism) but from an "aggressive" restatement of our concept of freedom "as the necessary weapon for the political struggle in which we are engaged."

Having thus outlined the background of the present "world civil war," Dr. Ascoli devotes the central portion of his book to a definition of the concept and power of freedom. A rather long chapter on the essential relationship between work and freedom leads to a discussion of the problem of natural rights—and here the author quite effectively exposes some time-worn clichés ("inalienable rights," "unfettered elections") and goes on to warn that freedom is a fact, not an ideal, a continuous achievement and an exacting one.

The final chapters contain a discussion of the nature of political freedom and of the new political order emerging from the current world civil war; and to the analysis of those problems, Dr. Ascoli brings again the learned yet realistic approach of the political scientist as well as of a man who in his native Italy gained an early experience as

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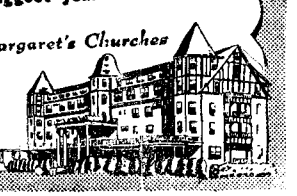

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a fighter for freedom against the fascist dictatorship.

The dominant note of hardheaded, essential optimism is sounded again in the closing words of the book: "Ours is a four-dimensional, precariously balanced, finite and measurable world. . . . It does not promise to be a world of total peace or rest. But it is a world where even strife and struggle give men the opportunity to increase the power and control the course of the freedom they make."

LEO J. WOLLEMBORG.

Mediaeval Russian Churches. Samuel Hazzard Cross. The Mediaeval Academy of America. Cambridge, Mass. $7.50.

THIS VALUABLE publication presents a series of lectures delivered at the Fogg Museum by the late Samuel H. Cross in 1933, after he had spent a year in Russia with Professor Kenneth Conant studying Russian church architecture. Professor Cross was an outstanding scholar in the field of Slavic culture, highly equipped both linguistically and historically for his task. He had also a direct perception, an artist's intuition, of Russia's mediaeval world and atmosphere. His description of the ancient churches of Kiev and Novgorod, Chernigov, Vladimir-Suzdal, Moscow, are wonderfully vivid and precise; even without the help of the illustrations (there are more than one hundred of them), we are plunged into this fascinating world of bulbous domes, golden cupolas towers, frescos, eikonostasis, of great cathedrals and strange little wooden shrines, in which Russian spiritual and cultural history is written down.

From the very beginning of his work, the author points out the different aspects of Russian church architecture: the Byzantine trends, the original inspiration of the Novgorod builders, the blend of Saxon and Slavonic, and later the coming of Italian architects who adapted themselves to the Moscovite style and adapted the Moscovite to the Italian. Professor Cross reminds us that what is usually considered as "typical" of Russian churches is actually a late product, the so-called Ukrainian baroque. Authentic old Russian churches are much more severe, simpler, almost archaic in design: the famous Cathedral of Saint Sophia of Novgorod, the beautiful single cupola of the Church of the Virgin Intercessor on the river Nierl, the wooden churches of Vuitegorsky and Kizhi with their clusters of bulbs, the "log-cabin" chapels of the Russian North—these are the true land-marks of Russsian mediaeval architecture. Actually, they are less "exotic" than Moscow's onion-shaped cupolas. And the spirit of the men who built them, however different the terms in which it was expressed, seems to be very near to that of the builders of Vezelay or Chartres.

HELENE ISWOLSKY.

Chopin. Herbert Weinstock. Knopf. $5.00.

THIS IS certainly the handsomest book on Chopin that I have seen. And it does reproduce the Delacroix likeness. The publisher has long been known for fine book production, while the scholarship of the author is unmistakable.

But it must also be said that Chopin himself does not come to life in this effort. The author's precise and cool objectivity might better fit a study of Bartok, or (I almost wrote "another") a scientist, rather than the great

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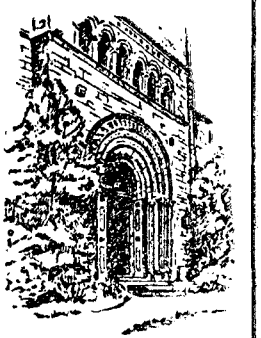

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nineteenth century Romantics whom he has chosen to interpret. Mr. Weinstock's "Tchaikovsky" supplied impeccable chronology of the known and recently discovered facts about the Russian symphonist's life and an expert analysis of his compositions. He has done this again with his "Chopin."

I would have asked a warmer appreciation for this centenary year of Chopin's death. It has always seemed to me that there was a unique bond between the Parisian-Polish composer and the American poet Poe, whose birth and death dates, writing, and melancholy character parallel Chopin's.

Mr. Weinstock's interest is less emotional. Perhaps he unconsciously epitomizes his study in summing up one of the most Chopinesque of Chopin pieces: "The F-sharp major Nocturne is a great masterpiece in small."

JOHN BRUBAKER.

The Coming Age of Wood. Egon Glesinger. Simon & Schuster. $3.50.

THE FASCINATING material of this book is presented in the way best calculated to prevent the reader from taking it seriously—as it should be taken. Whether it actually was or not, "The Coming Age of Wood" sounds ghost written, synthetic and assembly line produced. The author, Egon Glesinger, is a Czech scientist who came to America in 1941, where now he works as Chief of the Forest Products Branch of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN. He is a most enthusiastic and persuasive campaigner: "It is my honest belief that freedom from want, if it is ever achieved and no matter when it arrives, can come only in a new age of wood." Reforestation, advanced technical utilization, and, especially, integration of forestry and all wood industries (and world effort through the UN), are shown to offer magnificent and near potentialities.

Timeless. Nicholas Tchkotoua. Murray and Gee (Culver City, Calif.). $3.00.

THIS CURIOUS and romantic tale of Southeastern Russia has all the wonder, unreality and poesy which we have come to associate with children's fairy tales. It is a first-person narrative which moves at a breathless pace right to the catastrophe. Withal it is so natural and fresh that it would supply almost anyone with a good hour's escape from hard reality.

CONTRIBUTORS

James O'GARA is the editor of *Today*, a monthly magazine published in Chicago.

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Helene ISWOLSKY, the editor of *The Third Hour*, is the author of "Soul of Russia" and "Light Before Dusk."

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